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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 3, 1851.

for the National Era.

THE HERMIT'S CHAPEL. AN INCIDENT IN THE LIVES OF BERNARDIN ST

PIERRE AND JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU in Mount Valerien's chestnut wood The Chapel of the Hermit stood, And thither at the close of day Came two old pilgrims worn and gray

One, whose impetuous youth defled. The storms of Baikal's wintry side, And mused and dreamed where tropic day Flamed o'er his lost Virginia's bay. His simple tale of love and woe All hearts had melted, high or low;

A bligeful pain a sweet distress. Yet, while above his charmed page Beat quick the young heart of his age, He walked amidst the crowd unknown, A sorrowing old man, strange and lene.

Who sought with him from summer air

And field and wood a balm for care, And bathed in light of sunset skies His tortured nerves and weary eyes His words had shaken crypt and throne

They dropped, and kindled as they fell. Beneath the pumps of state, below The nitred juggler's masque and show A prophecy, a vague hope, ran His burning thought from man to man.

For peace or rest too well he saw The fraud of priests, the wreng of law And felt how hard between the two Their breath of pain the midions drew.

A prophet utterance strong and wild,

The weakness of an unweaned child,

A sun bright hope for human kind, And self-despair, in him combined. He loathed the false, yet lived not true To half the glorious truths he knew; The doubt, the discord, and the sin,

He mourned without, he felt within

Midst yearnings for a truer life, Without were fears, within was strife And still his wayward act denied The perfect good for which he sighed.

The fame that crowned him scorched and burned The love he sent forth void returned; He sought for light among his kind, And found, blind leaders of the blind

Restless and wandering, scarcely loved He hore the ban of Church and State, The good man's fear, the bigot's hate Forth from the city's noise and throng,

To them the green fields and the wood

Prophetical of all they dreamed The hermits from their simple care And, listening to its sound, the twain

Wile open stood the chanel door A sweet old music, swelling o'er

Then Rousseau spake: " When two or three And then, in silence, on their knees

They sank beneath the chestnut trees As to the blind returning light, As daybreak to the Arctic pight. Dissolve in reverential tears.

That gush of feeling overpast, " I would thy bitterest foes sould sa They call thee skeptie: badst thou bee Among the highly favored men

Who heard and looked on Fenelon, The Church had owned thre as her son.

Oh, more than the selle, melle, m Than solemn rite of the bre, The holy life of the Unit of Gol. "Amidet a black of the law;
The oneneas of the law;
That Heave the law;
And God the law brough love of ms n.

"He lived the Tree which reconciled
The strong factors son, Faith the child;
In him because for were one—
The homilies of caty done!"

So speaking who see the twilight gray
The two oid p. lerina want their way;
But ere the levy we had censed to blow,
Harsh values and, "There lies Rousseau!"
The two promises where it fell,
The paradle course is pained in hell!"
Thus promises in from its alters cursed
The meaning the basis of falsehood nursed

Oh, we see Pealmist prayed,
"Thy Ban's, on me be laid!"
Earth W. Heaven weeps above

the wanderer acce, and with its chestnut trees— depuir, a tale that's told, ave of thange o'er all has rolled

Vet lives the lesson of that day, and from he swiight, cool and gray, dues up a low, and whisper: "Make The truth thine own, for truth's own sake

spkritual pride and pampered sense,

e thyself, and follow Me.

wanton's wish, the biget's word, being of state and ritual show hald the loathsome death below swarm of crown and cowl, shed walked Francois Fencion

mais time, the stake blazad rad

him not: his garment's he

ear gleams far behind,

Which marked their path, remain in thine; And that great Life, transfused in theirs, Awaits thy faith, thy love, thy prayers

A lesson which I well may beed A word of fitness to my need, So from that twilight cool and gray Still saith a voice, or seems to say.

THE EUROPEAN WORLD.

Mean conduct of the English press with reference the American ocean steamers—Good news from France—Remarkable signs of the well fixed sov ereignty of the Constitution over French public opinion—The choice of a Cabinet of no-party workies has checkmated the intrigues of the Chan The bold and important position occupied by the latest chosen Ministry-Its effects on Berryer and Thiers-Self-stultification of the Legitimists and Or leanists to induce the Reds to conlesse with them-How Louis Napoleon came to subscribe to the cir-cumscription of the elective franchise and the inva-sion of Rome—Important development of the senti-ment of the army—The weakness of party in France - Louis Nupoleon's personal aspirations dend-Thiers unwittingly doing good-A glorious rivalry of parties for which they deserve no thanks - Denmark and the Duckies - That exection in a nut shell - The effect of Prusia's d -d good her Schleswig-Holstien policy to meet the views o

NEW YORK, February 22, 1851. To the Editor of the National Era :

One of the most striking features of the two ast arrivals per steamer from Liverpool, is the eagerness manifested by the British press of all parties and shades of principle in seizing upon he accident to the Atlantic, as on the fact that on two former occasions other steamers of the Collins line put to sea without a sufficiency of coal, to glorify their own line, the Cunard, at the expense of the American enterprise. However 'liberal" a portion of the journals of the United Kingdom may be in discussing questions purely English or entirely foreign, whenever approach ing a subject involving the rivalry of any other nation with themselves, or an interest foreign and and at the same time antagonistic to theirs, if in the course of the last ten years they have once done justice I have not been able to discover it. They are now very busy in enforcing on the travelling and business world their opinions that no man should venture to sea in an American steamer, without getting his life insured, and on insurance companies the necessity for charging double, treble, or quadruple rates for insuring safe passages in American steam bottoms. They do this of course indirectly-so shaping their comments as to force their conclusions, if possible on the minds of all, without venturing to broach them as distinct propositions for which they may be held accountable. But-selfishness has always been a term almost synonymous with " English"

The late news from France, fully confirmed by the mails by the Baltic, is indeed a subject for congratulation on the part of all who desire to see the supremacy of Republicanism fully and firmly established over the Continent of Europe. Louis Napoleon, though deliberately consured in half a dozen votes of the Chamber, maintains the power of his office, intact; while his personal influence is evidently at a very, very low discount. That is, the Presidency of the Republic is sustained by public opinion, to which the Legitimiata Orle is Denmark, sovereignty of the Duchies—as in the sis, and crazy Reds of the Chamber have been forced to bow unconditionally; while the Bonaparte has been forced to abanded ingloriously every one of cherished aspirations for power not admitted and accorded in the Constitution. As a man, Louis Napoleon has been compelled to proclaim his 6wn insignificance, though boldly insisting that as the constitutional head of the Government he is the first in France, with ower enough in the will of the nation at his back, to administer it (the Government) according to the terms and spirit of the Constitution, in spite of the intrigues of the cliques who would overturn

which to recapitulate the eventful political history of Paris during the last fortnight. Nor is that course necessary, dealing as I do rather with results. I may, however, remark that Louis Napoleon's last move has completely checkmated the majority in the Chamber, in depriving them of the objections to his last chosen Ministry always stien. incident to the selection of such functionaries from the list of active members of political parties. In making these selections, he has been careful to call to his council board no man identified as a leader or prominent man in any party. Thus, his new Ministers were all employées under the Government, holding positions of great business importance, but not political in their character. As a consequence, not one member of the new Cabinet is personally odious with any opposite party. Nor can either of them be susopposite party. Nor can either of them be susopposite party. Nor can either of them be susopposite party. pected of caring a button whether this or that clique of politicians is uppermost. It has been the business of all for the business lifetime of all, simply to look to the efficient and just administra-

The Legitimists, Orleanists, and Reds of the Chamber, (who are filled with hatred for the President, since that functionary has given proof to the nation that he has abandoned hope or purpose not identified with an honest and simple administration of the duties of his office,) have together interpellated the new Ministry as to its is that knowledge and liberty militate against the designs and its party predilections. M. Royer, happiness and prosperity of a people, and it is the new Minister of Justice, late a Government upon this hypothesis that she is laboring to have advocate or attorney, answers boldly that he and his colleagues entertain no political designs, and are utterly without party predilections; that their purpose is only to administer the Government according to Constitution and law, without the slightest regard as to what individuals are to be elevated or depressed by their strict adherence to that policy; that they did not seek office, and have no desire to keep it; but that, while they do keep it, they will do their best to put down all intriguers against the integrity of the Constitution-the Republic-whether sailing under Legitimist, Orleanist, Imperialist, or Socialist

The majority rave at this reply, but find themselves powerless against such opposition. M. jecture that it was the author's design, in part, Berryer shouts "Vive le Roi;" and, instead of to present an agreeable picture of negro slavery; his folly, by all Paris except the handful of poli- success; for the slaves, who are frequently introticians sympathising with him. This proves that duced in various scenes, are uniformly representno one dreads longer that the machinations of the ed "fat and sleek," and in every way after Henry Elysée in or out of the Chamber can possibly harm | Clay's own heart. the Republic. In few words, public opinion regards his cry only as proving that he is better fitted for an asylum for the cure of harmless lu- merit; and it is this only, an excellence so seldom nation, than for the active duties of a leader in the found in any of the species, that we design to

M. Thiers, whose bostility to the Republic is as notorious as that of Berryer, in order to consimple. So he abandous his cheriahed scheme of placing Joinville on the throne, and enters the list as a friend (treacherous of course) of the Constitution; and accordingly preaches an elegogreeous and in sombre hues, and ever glowing gorgeous and in sombre hues, and ever glowing

have compelled their bitter enemies to condemn before the nation the two great leading features of the policy which they themselves notoriously forced on the on the Administration of Louis Napoleon. No one ever accused the President of willingly subscribing to these two measures, so diametrically opposite to the spirit of the Constitution. He acquiesced in them, it is well known, only under the influthce of the mistaken idea. that unless he was sanctioned by a majority of the Chamber, he could not continue to administer the Government. This dirt-eating vote of the majority, though designed as an indirect ef-fort to strike a blow at the Executive, has already strengthened him immeasurably. Already, too, is it apparent that the disgrace of Changarnier has failed to create the feeling in the army it was expected to generate—the soldiery evidently caring little for men. They evince as stoical indif-

ference to the proud and stern hero, since it be-came apparent that he is but a tool of the ene-mies of the Republic, as to the realization of the hopes into which Louis Napoleon whilem cheated himself upon their cries of "Vive l'Empereur," which meant only, "Thank you, sir, for the champaign and sausages!"

Now, it is plain to all who will read, that the game of the intriguants in the Assembly is completely blocked. True, Berryer and Thiers each remains at the head of a party powerful for checking the intrigues of others against the Republic, but utterly powerless for compassing their own ends. In fact, they represent cliques incaown ends. In fact, they represent cliques inca-pable of attaining any palpable results in the way of either Sovereignty or Government. Bona-partism has by no means risen upon their fall. The overwhelming votes of censure upon Louis Napoleon personally, prove this fact, so far as the Chamber is concerned. The removal of Chan-gernier denotes only the utter indifference of the army, as well as of the people, to the struggle of party in the Assembly. Though both evidently revere the name of the President, and respect the republican dignity of his office, there is not the slightest symptom on the republican horizon leading to the impression that any considerable hody or influence, in or out of the Assembly or army,

chief upon it, as in 1790. Thanks to the circumstances by which he is surrounded, rather than to the purity of his in-tentions, Thiers is just now affecting much for the holy cause of liberalism in Europe in his war against the President, endeavoring, as he is, to hold together a majority opposed to changing the clause in the Constitution which forbids the reelection of Louis Napoleon. To do this, he must continue to court the Reds, who are only to be held under his rein by his adoption of sufficient of their views to strip his late contrary profes-

have the remotest idea of adopting his cause apart

from that of the nation, or of imposing a military

sions of all weight.

But, enough of France for the hour. I draw from the condition of matters in Paris, as summed up above, the very comfortable assurance, that all parties are becoming alive to the fact, that the only hope that any can have of continuing even for a time in power, must be based on a rivalry between the contending factions in the work of

Denmark, sovereignty of the Duchies—as in the case of the original causes of the Hungarian revolution against Austria—was inherited under different laws from those governing the descent of the Danish Crown, which went to female branches; while that of the Duchies was limited to male heirs only. Of a sudden, the King of Denmark declared that the Rolstien law of descent must be altered. In his justification, it may be said that otherwise there was imminent danger of separation of the Duchies from the Crown of Denmark, owing to the operation of this difference in their respective laws. Prussia's original ence in their respective laws. Prussia's original armed interference, however, ruined everything; armed interference, however, ruined everything; converting the question into a German revolutionary one, and giving Russia a pretext for her subsequent interference. France, regarding Prussia as her Continental rival, naturally sided, at least in sentiment, with Russia on the question. Denmark, viewing the hostile act of Prussia as unjustifiable German interference, quickly blockaded the Elbe; and that act, interfering at least prospectively with British commercial interests, induced Palmerston in turn to stop the tempest in a teapot, by siding in his advice and influence with the stronger party. Austria, impelled by similar considerations, also took side against Holstien.

Well might the Duchies, on realizing what Prussia had thus done for them in the way of complicating their affairs, have cursed this interference of their d—d good natured friend, more especially since to Prussian State poltroonery they are indebted for the final disgraceful end of the contest. Though the inhabitants of the Duchies however, turn out that she will now aim to change the local Government of Schleswig and Holstien, so as to circumscribe their independence and to repair their institutions and influence, which have enabled them infinitely to lead the mother country (Denmark) for full 400 years, in the arts of civilization—in wealth, industry, and induce the successful party to do so, by way of checking the progress of civilization on the Eyder—to reduce it to the retrograded condition of mind on the Sound. This is emphatically the the council at Dresden base its measures, one and LIBERALIST.

SHANNONDALE. By Emma D. E. Nevitt Southworth, author of " Retribution, or the Vale of Shadows," "De-Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 161

We have read this volume, together with the works of its gifted author, with thrilling interest; and having in vain waited for the discerning pen of the Lady Aristarchus of the Era to do its office, have judged it not presumptuous to utter our own opinion of its merits.

We are inclined to express our shrewd cor being arrested for high treason, is laughed at for and, if so, she has certainly met with excellent

> We do not consider this work as a common novel, but as a fictitious narrative of rare artistic laborious thought united with exquisite genius.

Perhaps its distinguishing characteristic is the brilliant imagination which so richly gilds the dotation proposed to be voted to the President, is thread of fancy. Whether in the description of forced to give up the Orleans cause, and to plant | female loveliness, of the beauty or sublimity of himself on the platform of the Republic, pure and Nature, of Elysian happiness, or of mortal woe, quent homily on the duty of a Republican Chief with an earnestness of feeling, which transfers Magistrate to live upon the salary provided for the enthusiasm and animation of the artist to the him by the law, eschewing associations and displays likely to lead him into anti-republican extravagances.

with an earnestness of teeling, which trainers with an earnestness of teeling, which trainers are sufficient to the enthusiasm and animation of the artist to the mind of the spectator, as by some electrotypic power of its brilliant, self-emitted light. At times this radiance is dazzling and painful, and one

splendor.

We esteem the author also felicitous in her arrangement. The web of the story, though complex, is skilfully weven, nor is the reader likely to entangle himself in a mare of confused, disjointed incidents, but ever and anon a line appears, pointing along the proper track to the right denouement, where, when arrived, one reviews his and to the support of the laws of their country, and requiring and commanding all officers, civil and military, who shall be found within the vicinity of this outrage, to be aiding and assisting, by all means in their power, in quelling this and other such combinations, and assisting the marshal and his deputies in recapturing the above-mentioned prisoner; and I do especially, direct that prosecutions be commenced against all persons who shall have made themselves aiders or abettors in or to this fiagitious offence; and I do denouement, where, when arrived, one reviews his course with a clear, distinct recollection, and course with a clear, distinct recollection, and complacently remembers every premonition of the United States, and all other persons concerned in the administration or execution of the United States, cause the foregoing offenders, and all such as aided, abetted, or assisted them, they are never degraded, but are sometimes up they are never degraded, but are sometimes un- or shall be found to have harbored or concealed duly exalted, both in language and in sentiment— a circumstance which, judging from two or three palpable orthographical errors in the book, is, in common with them, the result of over-hasty composition. Occasions are very skilfully invented for displays of the passions, which are sometimes made to act with a painful intensity, that is not only strikingly unreal, but also mars the designed effect; but emotions of affection and reverence are called forth in a manner, at times so pathetic, and at times so comical, with a strict and uniform fidelity to Nature, that we behold in such creations the work of that exalted genius

which can thus revel in these extremes of feeling-the inspired alike of Nienia and Thalia. There is yet another aspect in which this work is meritorious-namely, a metaphysical. This will doubtless seem a strange word to mention in connection with a romance; but the reflecting mind will nevertheless discover this unusual feature to be a pleasant reality. The philosophic current of the author's thoughts frequently appears in the utterance of theories, not altogether new, yet strange in their novel form, often models of simple, sound and elegant argument, from which most readers may cull many rare gems of thought. Occasionally, however, sentiments are expressed which we hardly think would selve with the "form of sound words;" but these derive an apology from the malignant character of the one who utters them, even as Milton has rightly put words of horrid blasphemy in the mouths of fiends

We should have been well pleased to introluce a few quotations from so agreeable a work but the necessary brevity of this article forbids, while we are also reminded of the Spanish proverb-"Good wine needs no bush." We trust that its author will be encouraged by a warm welcome to these Minervas of her brain, to continue her labors in this department of literature. to which her talents are so well adapted.

For the National Era. GREAT CRY AND LITTLE WOOL.

The Federal Government is a strange comound-strangely grand, strangely mean, strangely progressive, strangely penurious, strangely aristocratic, strangely democratic, strangely blustering and chock full of courage, strangely sneaking and cowardly. Of the truth of this, the President's great, big, grandilequent Proclamation on the subject of the Boston mob of about a baker's dozen negroes, to effect the liberation of an alleged

When Georgia persisted in exercising jurisdiction over the Indian tribes within that State, against the express provisions of the treatice be tween those tribes and the United States, in defi ance of the injunction of the Supreme Court, and in contempt of the laws of the United Statesin contempt of the laws of the United States-tried, convicted, and hong certain Indians—the mation denouncing that bloodshed. It did not even mutter. Where slept the Federal thouser when the two missionaries to the Cherokee In-dians, there under the treaty of the United States with that tribe, there as the teachers of letters and the arts of civilized life, were tried, convicted, and imprisoned as felons, for discharging their duties as faithful agent of this Government to those tribes of Indians? And out of that and certain other sneaking concessions which the United States has yielded to Georgia, that arro-gant State has adopted the maxim, "Georgia always has her own way."

When Lovejoy was murdered by a mob at Al-

ton, in Illinois, the Federal Government slept-the State of Illinois slept; there was no whisper of disapprobation, no denunciation, no indictment, no trial. Justice slept—a quiet, placid sleep—her dreams were undisturbed by riots, mobs, and mur-

The United States mail is roobed by State authority, because it contained opinions hostile to the institution of slavery. Justice, judgment, Federal authority, slept—it permitted its mail to be robbed, and did not even growl at the outrage. The Mormons were hunted from State to State

The Mormons were hunted from State to State and Territory to Territory, like wild beasts; their churches were descerated and burat, their houses broken open and robbed; rape, arson, and murder, were acts of daily occurrence. The Federal Government slept. There was no protection, no rest, for the Mormons, till they left in a body the abode of civilization, and placed a desert of a thousand miles between themselves and Federal and State authorities and laws.

When South Carolina imprisented and sold as

and State authorities and laws.

When South Carolina imprisoned and sold as slaves the freemen of the State of Massachusetts, accused of no crime but that of having African blood in their veins; and when Massachusetts sends her commissioner to South Carolina, to in-vestigate the facts, and seek legal redress, and the commissioner is hustled out of the State by a mob, it was all right, all as it should be. The Federal Government was as calm and placid as a

summer's sea.

When a free man is seized, and with most indecent haste, without trial, is hurried off into slavery, there is no complaint. The Federal commissioner is retained in office; he is not even rebuked. It is only a precedent against human liberty, and is to be winked at, because the sufferer is black, and the decision is in favor of the

rebellion is countenanced in the first city of the Union; a great dinner is given to Dorr by the magnates of the Democratic party in the city of New York; a sword is presented to him; he is escorted to the ship that is to convey him and his eacorted to the ship that is to convey him and his fortunes to the civil war in his native State. No proclamation ensues. The Federal Government folds its arms; no rebuke is uttered sgainst those who furnished men and means. It was only rebellion; it was only treason; it did not interfere with the slave question or the slave power. And why should our pro-slavery Government interfere? Why should not the Government husband all its precourses are all its precourses. all its resources, save all its energies, to beat down the first dawning of freedom among the

But a man is found in Boston, in the year o But a man is found in Boston, in the year of Grace 1851, who it is said was a slave—his body and his soul the goods and chattels of a Southern master. He is arrested—is brought up for trial for the crime of exercising certain constitutional rights, such as the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He is rescued from the officers in charge, by about a desen black men. The Federal Government wakes from its slumber; the lion is roused in his lair, and shakes his mane and roars at the top of its Presidential voice. The sword of the Captain General leaps from its scabbard in the following words: from its scabbard in the following words

> OFFICIAL. By the President of the United States.

Whereas information has been received, that the purpose of opposing by force the execution of the laws of the United States did at Boston, in Massachusetts, on the fifteenth of this mouth, make a violent assault on the marshal or deputy marshals of the United States, for the district of marshals of the United States, for the district of Massachusetts, in the Court-house, and did overcome the said officers, and did, by force, rescue from their custody a person arrested as a fugitive slave, and then and there a prisoner lawfully holden by the said marshal or deputy marshals of the United States, and other scandalous outrages did commit in violatiou of law.

But without the Reds the dotation scheme cannot be defeated. So, to obtain their votes against it, Berryer's followers on the one hand, and those continuity of Thiers on the other, are forced to embrace the orb of day, when sinking to his ocean bed, with orbiding on all well-disposed citizens.

terms of the Reds—to join in a preliminary vote denouncing the law circumscribing the right to exercise the elective franchise, and the action of the Government in interfering in the affairs of Rome on the side of the reaction. Thus, the Reds have compalled their bitter premier to configure the laws of their country, and requiring and commanding all officers, civil and military, who shall be found within the vicinity of this outrage, to be aiding and assisting, by all means in their power, in quelling this abettors in or to this flagitious offence; and I do such fugitive, contrary to law, to be immediately arrested and proceeded with according to law. Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, this 18th day of February, 1851.
MILLARD FILLMORK.

DANIEL WERSTER,

Secretary of State. This Proclamation reminds us of two stories one of Greek, the other of American origin.

A Greek of small wit and great connections lost a child. His friends and relatives collected in great numbers at the funeral; and when the corpse of the child was exhibited to the audience, the polite Greek apologized for its size, and said he was ashamed to show so small a child to so great a collection of people.

The Yankee story runs thus A man was breaking a colt, and having tamed him so that he would hear his rider, told his boy to hide in the bushes, and rush out when he rode the colt by, so as to practice the colt against similar occasions, and teach it not to "shy." The boy did as directed—turned his jacket over his head, rushed out of the bushes, and shouted at the top of his voice. The colt shyed and threw his rider, who jumped up, brushed his clothes, put on his hat, and with an oath asked the boy why he did that. Because you told me to scare the colt," said

the boy. "Yes," said the fallen rider; "but there was no use in making so big a boo for so small a colt.

For the National Era. . w.A. THE HIGHER LAW.

So much has of late been said in legislative halls, at Union meetings, at laudation dinners, from the pulpit and the press, on the subject of Higher Law, so many sneers have been cast on the subject, that it falls without interest on the

or Seward was just in the abstract, timely, the emanation of true morality and sound statesmanship and exalted patriotism, I have been amazed,

clude Slavery from the territories which we have lately acquired from Mexico. Governor Seward discussed both of these questions; and having demonstrated to his own satisfaction, and probaing Slavery, he discussed the expediency of that measure, and in the course of that discussion let fall the following remarks:

ward.

Thi out pe "The Constitution regulates our stewardship.
The Constitution devotes the domain to union, to

justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.

"But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the dottes matters. Now, among all the men connectmain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes | ed with the Government, he is the most excep-

The question is not whether there is or is not a higher law, which shall absolve us from obedi-not a higher law, (to wit: the law of trou,) which should regulate our conduct under that Constitu-tion. It is clearly constitutional to admit or exclude Slavery from any territory in the United Congress has done both; it has excluded Sla-

very from all the territory north of the Ohio-from all the territory north of the Missouri Com-promise line. Congress has admitted, tolerated Slavery south of that line-also in Florida. Congress has sole and exclusive jurisdiction over the Territories, and, of course, can do as it pleases on the subject of Slavery.

The power then existing, how shall that power

world will say yes. What are these rules of hu-manity and justice? Are they not that higher law, which in every Christian country should, and in most Christian countries does, form the corner-stone, the foundation of all laws?

orner-stone, the foundation of all laws?
If the practice of lawmakers is anything, if the precepts of the commentators and elementary writers on law amount to anything, the Christian religion is a part of the common law of the land, and no law should be passed which will not stand that test. that test.

Suppose, if you please, that Congress had been about to pass a law that every man in the Territories might have two wives, or one wife, and any

number of concubines : suppose that the Constitu-tion of California had contained a clause making bigamy and promiscuous concubinage constitu-tional, and some Senator should have said there was no higher law than the laws of man—that it was idle and vain, nay, fanatical and revolutionary, to insist upon any such principle.

What would the whole Christian world have said-how would the moral sense of the commu

nity have revolted at the utterance of so gross and flagitious a sentiment?
How much different in its effects is the introduction of Slavery? Does not that bring in its train duliness and stupidity as to the present rights and future destinies of man? Does it not being instantial exists and research property. Does it not bring promiscuous concubinage? Of the 500,000 slaves that Virginia contains, prob-ably 300,000 are of mixed breed—and probably, since slavery begun, there was never an hundred

marriages between whites and blacks.

Our "lover law," which the sages and philosophers of the nineteenth century praise so loud and so long, has not prevented that vast ocean of folly and vice which is to be inferred from the fact that there are 300,000 Africans of mixed breed in Virginia. Alas! even the "higher law," which is respected, honored, loved, in Virginia, has hardly checked this avalanche of folly and vice. It cannot be checked in a slaveholding com-

munity.

Is it, then, a hard saying of Governor Seward-Is it, then, a hard saying of Governor Seward—
is it fanatical, revolutionary, to say: "Slavery
brings in its train so much danger, weakness, poverty and crime, we are bound by the laws of
humanity and justice, by those higher laws which
emanate from God, to do our duty, within the
bounds of the Constitution." The Constitution
authorizes us to admit or exclude slavery; but
the laws of mercy, humanity, eternal justice, forbid us sometimes, and certainly in this instance,
to exclude slavery from the territory, although it to exclude slavery from the territory, although it might be literally constitutional to admit that in-

There are 500,000 slaves in Virginia. Most o

them are Christians—many of them are pretty well informed—are moral, exemplary, pious numbers in full communion in the church of Christ. Yet, of this half million of people, not one is permitted to take an oath in any case where

MR. WEBSTER ARRAIGNED-A SCENE IN THE

payment of the Mexican instalments being under

Representatives.

Three or four elections have passed in his dis-Mr. Allen of Massachusetts boldly questioned the propriety of intrusting the payment of the instalments to the Secretary of State. The report of the debate, which was exceedingly spirited and of great importance to the country, we copy from the Daily Globe.

Mr. Allen said he was glad to hear the inquiry Mr. Allen said he was glad to hear the inquiry of the gentleman from South Carolins, [Mr. Burt,] how it happened the payment of these instalments was arranged by the Secretary of State, instead of the Secretary of the Treasury. He knew very well that in the negotiation of treaties, the State Department was the proper agent of the Government. But when such negotiatious were closed, and there remained to be done nothing but the payment of money from the Treasury, it would seem that the discharge of that duty properly belonged to the head of the Treasury Department. Department.

If he was right in assuming that position, Mr.

A. was opposed to any transfer of official duty from the officer who is presumed to be selected for his fitness to take charge of the pecuniary connis ntress to take charge of the pecuniary con-cerns of the Government, to another functionary whose qualifications may be of an entirely oppo-site character. Mr. A. had heard no reason as-signed for a departure from that mode of pro-ceeding, which clearly appeared to be fit and prop-er, except the statement that the subject had been considered in the Cabinet of the late President, by whom the duty had been devolved upon the late Secretary of State. However that may be, Mr. A. said that Mr. Clayton declined to interfere with the business of the Treasury, and refused to enter into any negotiations respecting it. But it so happened that soon after the appointment of the present Secretary of State, that officer assumed the whole business of arranging the payments which were due by treaty to Mexico. He would not ssy that within three days from the induction of the Secretary into office, Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs, war record of the preferred is of dis-bursing the immense sums of money which were to be paid to Mexico, but he believed that the negotiation was completed with very remarkable promptitude, and to the exclusion of all compe-

I know of nothing in the transaction which tends to implicate Corcoran & Riggs, or any other bankers whose names have been mentioned in this transaction. I see nothing dishonorble or improper in them. There is nothing on their part, so far as this transaction is concerned, which differs from the ordinary course of business. It is not because I impute anything improper to these bankers that I have alluded to this subject, nay, grieved, to see ministers of the Gospel entering the arena of politics, and, gladiator-like, engaging in the fierce contest.

The question under discussion in the Senate of the United States, which called for the criticized remark, was, whether it was constitutional; and, if constitutional, whether it was expedient to exclude Slavery from the territories which we have

bly to the satisfaction of nine-tenths of the whole American People, the constitutionality of exclud-transfer of duties, which I shall now bring for-

This business of negotiating means for carrying out pecuniary concerns with a foreign Govern-ment has been spoken of as a matter of great delicacy. But it becomes a matter of greater delicacy, when the Secretary of State, without any the common heritage of mankind, bestowed on them by the Creator of the Universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their a servant and stipendiary of bankers and bro-Sir, I speak these things with reluctance, but

they should be said by somebody, and as no gentle-mon har incle which are notorious, as notorious in New York and Boston, if not in this city, as any other transaction in the recent history of the country. The Secretary of State comes here, not for the compensation which the laws of your Gov-ernment allow to that officer as a remuneration for his services, but he comes here for a much higher compensation—with far greater pecuniary inducements furnished him—and furnished him by the bankers of Wall street and State street. Now, I repeat, that it is a fact which is not only notorious in Boston, but in the whole country, on the subject of Slavery.

The power then existing, how shall that power the office of Secretary of State—a position which be exercised? Shall it be exercised according to the rules of humanity and justice? All the tion which the Government deems sufficient for the frugal support of the officers who shall be called to perform the duties of that office—he en-tered into an arrangement, by which it was agreed that a large sum of money should be raised for him, as an inducement to assume his present pohim, as an inducement to assume his present po-sition. Twenty-five thousand dollars was to be raised in Boston, as the final result of that ar-rangement, and the like sum in the city of New York. I have it from authority which cannot be doubted, that such an arrangement, proceeding from the suggestion of the Secretary himself, was actually made; and I have most satisfactory rea-

sons for believing that the arrangement was act-ually carried out by the raising of \$25,000 in New York, and about \$20,000 in Boston. I believe there are men within the sound of my voice who can sustain me in these assertions. I believe there are persons within this Hall who have some particular information upon this very

subject.

Now, sir, I do not know how the fact strikes

Now, sir, I do not know how the fact strikes the House that the highest officer in your Government, with the exception of the President, should take office upon the understanding and inducement of receiving large sums of money from a certain description of men doing business in our cities. I do not know with what degree of appreciates. hension gentlemen may regard the influences which such a state of things must throw around

There was a time, in the earlier and purer days There was a time, in the earlier and purer days of the Republic, when no party could have been found which would not condemn the transaction, regardless of the man, or of the official influence he might possess in the Government. And will parties in this House approve or palliate it? Has the Whig party so far degenerated from its professed character at a former period that it will seek to conceal or openly vindicate the dangerous abuse?

party, let me cast my eye for a moment upon the other side of the House. I desire to know in what light such arrangements are regarded by the Democratic party. Divided and broken as that party is, I trust it retains enough of ancient profession and faith to regard this transaction with stern indignation. "There was a Brutus once that would have let the infernal devil hold his place in Rome" as soon as a stipendiary of Wall street and State street.

Wall street and State street.

I trust the members of the Democratic party will be disposed to probe this matter to the bottom. I have but exposed the surface. They will then be able to determine how far it is expedient fortunes are to be made by agents of the Govern-ment, in the hands of any man who stands not before the country in an attitude of independ-ence of those who wield the money power of the Mr. Ashmun. It is accomplished! It is ac-

one is permitted to take an oath in any case where a white man is concerned. The pardoned felon, if he be white—the vilest raccal that the world affords, if he be unconvicted and white, may test the liberty, the life of an innocent man may be storn away; but the oath of the best slave in Virginia is not to be endured. For the purposes of the sidnisistration of justice, they are blind, deaf, and dumb!

And yet the philosophers and statesmen of this as ever the priests, stigmatize and denounce and sneer at that statesman who ventures to as every that in making laws, within the scope and range of the Constitution, we are the stewards of the great the Constitution, we are the stewards of the great the continuing that the continuing that the priests, all this problem of the world affords, it is accomplished! It is accomplished! The purpose of the Memorary and Free Soliism of the Worcester district of Massachus the years and the purpose, for what great purpose, for what great purpose, for what great purpose, for what purpo

eclipse by his superhuman efforts in behalf of hu-HOUSE.

HOUSE.

Tuesday, February 25th, the subject of the

Tuesday, February 25th, the subject of the North; and to night we see how he has vindicated the reputation which he acquired at home, and has illustrated the purpose for which he was

trict, if I mistake not, since the honorable member took his seat here. Great inquiry has been made among his constituents, and amongst all the friends of human liberty at the North, what has our friend from the Worcester district done? Echo answered, "Nothing yet. Wait awhile we shall hear." Sir, the wires, to-morrow, will we shall hear?" Sir, the wires, to-morrow, will carry them the response. It will carry to them the response that all that he has done—and it is a distinction which I hope no other district in the State of Massachusetts will claim—has been this night's attempt to defame one of its own citizens. Sir, the honor of every citizen of Massachusetts is dear to her. I care not what his condition in life may he, great or little, he is still a Massachu-setts man; and it is a Massachusetts man who has stood here to-night to attempt that defamation. My colleague is the first, and I trust the only one that has had the courage (I do not speak of physical, but the malignant courage) to stand up here, and to attempt to disgrace a son of Massachusetts. Sir, the honorable member who has just taken his seat speaks of the distinguished Secretary of State as eating the bread of the public. When that honorable member has sat at his board, and has eaten his bread and partaken of his salt, was he then studying this speech, and preparing to make this assault?

Mr. Allen. Go on a little more freely Mr. Ashmun. I will go on He admits, then, that he was doing it, sir. I do not rise now to attempt to vindicate the reputation of the Secretary of State. That attempt would be vain and super-fluous in me, and I will not make it. The country, the world, will take care of the reputation of the Secretary of State. The world and all future time will do it. I rise to do no such thing. I could not do it if I were to attempt it. His works have done it, and the world will cherish it when my colleague and myself shall have passed away. But, sir, I cannot be silent when I hear a Massachusetts man here to night—upon no provocation, upon no excuse, much less upon any justification— arise and account by the malignant than a tions, to detract from the character of that man. What does it mean? 's there a concerted conspiracy which is developed in this attack? More han a week ago, I saw in a Northern paper-the Boston Atlas, edited by a highly respectable gentleman—the letter of an anonymous correspondent from this city, who said there was a member here who was in possession of facts which would accuse the Secretary of State of treason and of corruption—those were the words quiry into those charges. I have had that paper in my drawer for a week, waiting for the honorable member to introduce his resolution. He has been possessed of these facts which tend to im-peach and degrade Mr. Webster, for weeks— months, as I understand him, as he says here tonight.
Mr. Allen. The writer had no reference to me

rhatever. Mr. Ashmun. Sir, the attack of this night jusifies the inference which I have drawn. If it was

not the gentleman, it was a compeer, his confederate, I care not which. Who the writer of that letter is, I do not know; he is an anonymous character. But the language of that letter was the same as that employed by the gentleman here to-night. There is a conspiracy, then! It is not one man alone. There are two, three, and probably more engaged in this business. If it was not the gentleman before me, who was it? He stands up to-night and pretends to want an inquiry Why, sir, for weeks it is said this resolution of in quiry has been in some member's drawer—in his drawer or his confederate's. For weeks it has been guilty of corruption, and of treason, as this writer says. I have listened every day, and there have been half a dozen since when it was in order to introduce the resolution, and I have looked around this Hall to see who was the bold defamer that would dare to stand forth and put himself in that would dare to stand forth and put himself in the responsible situation of an accuser, and of of-the responsible situation of an accuser, and of of-multing that would impeace his high integrity. He has been silent, until one of these late hours of the night at the close of the session, when one cares to offer a resolution inquiring into any of the facts which he alleges, and then an honorable member from the State of Massachusetts gets up, and without any other responsibility than his individual one—which I admit to be the same as that of everybody else—without offering a resolution to inquire into any of the facts, in his characteristic manner, scatters over this land and over the world insinuations intended for nothing

Now, sir, has that great man ever done him an injury? Has not the member experienced at the hands of that gentleman marks of kindness? Are there not occasions which can be recalled by the suggestion which I make to him, that should make him weep at the injustice which he has done to this man? Sir, what is the amount of the suggestions which he has thrown out here-

Mr. Allen. Will you name the particular obli gation I am under to Mr. Webster ? Mr. Ashmun. Has not Mr. Webster ever treat-

Mr. Ashmun. Has not Mr. Webster ever treated the gentleman courteously? Is not that an obligation which he has never returned? Has he not treated him with generosity? Is not that an obligation which he has never returned? Has he not ever done him justice? Is not that an obligation which he has shown himself to be incupable of returning or appreciating? Sir, these may not be pecuniary obligations, but they are obligations of which a gentleman and a man should be sensitive and sensible. But what are the charges which, by insinuation in the first place, and finally, by working his courage up to the sticking point, by assertion, the gentleman has made against Mr. assertion, the gentleman has made against Mr. Webster? They are, sir, that certain gentlemen of Boston and gentlemen of New York, knowing of his pecuniary inability to assume the responsible position which he now holds, offered to contribute to bear in part the expenses and burdens of office, (great as we all know they are,) provided that he would accept it. Was there anything be youd that? Of even that I aver, that so far as yond that? Of even that I aver, that so far as I am concerned—(and I am free to say, nay, sir, I am proud to say that I have enjoyed the high honor of an intimate intercourse with that gentleman, and I hold it among the proudest and richest enjoyments of my life)—I say of what is alleged, I know nothing. It may be so. I do not take issue with the gentleman on that point. If he knows it, so be it. I have nothing to say at present in relation to the truth or falsity of the allegation. But I put it to every honorable man, if there be anything in it, to the extent which that gentleman has asserted, which would detract from the honor anything in it, to the extent which that gentleman has asserted, which would detract from the honor of Mr. Webster, supposing it be true that in generosity and justice (I say justice) to such a man, free trade and tariff men, merchants and mechanics, are disposed to make him presents in token of their high respect and regard. Sir, I wish my colleague could ever so command the feelings of his constituents as to receive from them some evidence of this kind, of their personal consideration even, even while he fails to get their votes, trial after trial. If the facts be as stated by my coldence of this kind, of their personal consideration even, even while he fails to get their votes, trial after trial. If the facts be ne stated by my colleague, is there anything in that to impeach Mr. Webster's integrity? But, sir, I am not going to argue that question. Let that member who wants to charge corruption upon Mr. Webster, be it my colleague or any other gentleman to whom the writer in the Boston Atlas refers, let that bold defamer stand forward, and, for one, as the friend of Mr. Webster, I stand here ready to meet his attack. And I believe the generous-hearted men of all parties in this House will stand here to meet it also. Let him put his insinuations into the form of specific charges of corruption, in such a manner that they shall be tangible—giving us names and stating what he means—and then I guaranty that the friends of Mr. Webster, and I believe every man in this House, as a friend of justice, will not interpose the slightest objection to an inquiry. But, sir, as a son of Massachusetts, and feeling a pride in those citizens of that State who are ever willing to be just and generous to one another, I could not be silent when I heard the great man of the nation, nay, sir, I am free to say at this moment, and I think, the great man of the world, assailed and maligned as he has been to-night. Sir, I will say no more.

Mr. Hilliard. I think it must be clear to all, that this debate has taken a most unfortunate turn. It will be admitted by the most malignant.